

Message Text

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COME-00 OIC-02 /087 W
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O R 061225Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5660
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
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AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
USIA WASHDC
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USCINCEUR
AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 1856

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

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TAGS: CSCE OCON
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, MARCH 4

SUMMARY: AFTER DAY-LONG NEGOTIATIONS, AN ONLY SLIGHTLY REVISED
VERSION OF DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT INTRODUCED BY DENMARK
MARCH 2 NOW APPEARS TO HAVE SUPPORT FROM 34 DELEGATIONS.
MALTESE ARE ONLY HOLDOUT, CONTINUING TO INSIST ON A MEDITERRANEAN

EXPERTS GROUP THAT WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE UP REGIONAL POLITICAL/ SECURITY PROBLEMS. UNLESS MALTESE PLAY THEIR OLD GAME TO HILT, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ADOPT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AT PLENARY MARCH 6 AND TO PROCEED TO CLOSING SPEECHES MARCH 7-8.
END SUMMARY.

1. WE WILL TRANSMIT BY SEPTEL TEXT OF REVISED DOCUMENT INTRODUCED BY DANISH REP AS BM/78 AT EVENING PLENARY MARCH 4. THE CHANGES ARE MINOR. THEY REFLECT EFFORTS DURING DAY-LONG CONSULTATIONS CONDUCTED BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG, THE DANISH AMBASSADOR AND THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR, ACTING TOGETHER, TO PROVIDE SOME DEGREE OF SATISFACTION TO YUGOSLAVS, ROMANIANS AND AUSTRIANS. THE THREE AMBASSADORS, ON BEHALF OF NATO AND WARSAW PACT CAUCUSES, MADE IT CLEAR FROM OUTSET THAT THERE WAS NO GIVE AT ALL ON MAIN POINT DESIRED BY ROMANIANS, YUGOSLAVS AND NUMBER OF OTHER NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA), AN EXPERTS GROUP IN MILITARY FIELD. ROMANIANS WERE GIVEN SEVERAL OF THE STYLISTIC CHANGES AND A BIT OF HARMLESS LANGUAGE STRESSING POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CSCE THEY HAD PROPOSED MARCH 3. YUGOSLAVS RECEIVED A PARAGRAPH ON RELATIONSHIP OF DETENTE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT. AUSTRIANS WERE SATISFIED WITH A SLIGHT WORDING CHANGE IN ONE PARAGRAPH THAT MADE CLEAR THAT EXCHANGE OF DIFFERING VIEWS ON STATE OF IMPLEMENTATION WAS CONSIDERED VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT OF CSCE AIMS. THESE CHANGES DO NOT AFFECT BASIC MINIMALIST CHARACTER OF DOCUMENT EITHER SINGLY OR TAKEN AS A GROUP, BUT ON BALANCE THEY REPRESENT SLIGHT IMPROVEMENT FROM WESTERN POINT OF VIEW.
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2. YUGOSLAV REP OPENED MORNING PLENARY WITH IMPASSIONED PLEA FOR TRUE NEGOTIATIONS IN HELSINKI AND GENEVA SPIRIT. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT REFUSAL OF SUPPORTERS OF DANISH TEXT PREVIOUS DAY TO CONSIDER ANY AMENDMENTS COULD MEAN CHANGE FOR WORSE IN BASIS SPIRIT OF CSCE PROCESS. YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR INDICATED PRIVATELY TO AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG, HOWEVER, THAT HIS GOVERNMENT NOW ACCEPTED THAT A MILITARY EXPERTS GROUP WAS NOT ACHIEVABLE AND WOULD BE SATISFIED WITH SOME FACE-SAVING AMENDMENTS. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG UNDERTOOK TO OBTAIN SOVIET AGREEMENT TO PARAGRAPH ORIGINALLY PROPOSED BY YUGOSLAVS IN THEIR FEBRUARY 23 PAPER AND RESURRECTED MARCH 3. VORONTSOV AGREED TO PARAGRAPH ALTHOUGH IT CONTAINED THE LESS THAN FULLY POSITIVE ASSESSMENT PREVIOUSLY OPPOSED BY SOVIETS THAT DETENTE "HAS CONTINUED SINCE THE ADOPTION OF THE FINAL ACT IN SPITE OF DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES ENCOUNTERED."

3. DANISH AMBASSADOR CARRIED OUT NEGOTIATIONS ALONE WITH ROMANIAN REP BECAUSE LATTER REFUSED TO GO BEFORE WHAT HE TERMED A "TRIBUNAL" INCLUDING U.S. AND SOVIET AMBASSADORS. HE ACCEPTED THAT MILITARY GROUP WAS OUT OF QUESTION AND AGREED TO SETTLE FOR SEVERAL OF HIS MINOR AMENDMENTS PROVIDED DANISH AMBASSADOR MADE ONE LAST TRY

TO GET SOVIETS TO ACCEPT REFERENCE TO FURTHER FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCES
"AT APPROPRIATE INTERVALS." DANISH AMBASSADOR MADE EFFORT, BUT
SOVIETS REPEATED THAT THEIR POSITION WAS FIRM.

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4. SOVIETS, WHO HAD REBUFFED AUSTRIAN PROPOSAL SHARPLY IN
PLENARY MARCH 3, AGREED TO ESSENCE OF THAT AMENDMENT EASILY TODAY.

5. MALTA SIGNALLED EARLY THAT IT WOULD BE TROUBLESOME. MALTESE
REP INTRODUCED IN MORNING PLENARY FOLLOWING PROPOSED REVISION OF
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MANDATE FOR MEDITERRANEAN EXPERTS GROUP HE HAS BEEN OFFERED:

BEGIN TEXT: ITS MANDATE WILL BE TO IDENTIFY SPECIFIC PROVISIONS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN CHAPTER OF THE FINAL ACT FOR EARLIEST IMPLEMENTATION AND TO REPORT ITS CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE MAIN MEETING IN MADRID. END TEXT.

NATO CAUCUS AGREED THAT THIS WAS BIG STEP BACKWARD FOR MALTESE WHO EARLIER IN WEEK HAD BEEN SEEKING CHANGES IN MANDATE THAT WOULD HAVE OPENED DOOR TO CONSIDERATION AT VALLETTA MEETING OF POLITICAL/SECURITY ASPECTS OF MEDITERRANEAN PORTION OF FINAL ACT BUT WHICH WOULD HAVE LEFT EMPHASIS OF MEETING ON ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL SUBJECTS. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG, DANISH AND SOVIET AMBASSADORS TOLD MALTESE REP IN EFFECT THAT THERE COULD BE NO FURTHER AMENDMENT OF EXISTING TEXT EXCEPT ADDITION OF SENTENCE MAKING CLEAR THAT NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES WOULD BE ABLE TO COME TO VALLETTA BUT IN ROLE OF CONTRIBUTORS, NOT FULL PARTICIPANTS. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG STRESSED THAT AGREEMENT TO MEDITERRANEAN EXPERTS GROUP, EVEN OF A LIMITED KIND, WAS DIFFICULT FOR U.S. TO AGREE TO AND THAT THERE WOULD BE NO FURTHER CHANGE.

6. MALTESE REP INSISTED THROUGHOUT DAY THAT HIS LATEST PROPOSAL WAS PUT FORWARD ON FIRM INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRIME MINISTER, AND MALTA WOULD HAVE TO BE GIVEN MORE THAN AN EXPERTS MEETING ON ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL SUBJECTS. WHEN REVISED DRAFT OF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WAS INTRODUCED AT EVENING PLENARY, HE ATTACKED SUPPORTERS OF TEXT FOR CONDUCTING "INQUISITION" OVER PAST FEW DAYS INSTEAD OF REAL CONSULTATIONS (A PARTICULARLY INFELICITOUS PHRASE SINCE CHAIRMAN OF DAY WAS HOLY SEE REP). HE SAID THAT BECAUSE OF UNSATISFACTORY MEDITERRANEAN SECTION DOCUMENT WOULD BE "DIFFICULT" FOR MALTA TO ACCEPT, THAT ULTIMATE DECISION WAS UP TO CAPITAL BUT THAT HE PERSONALLY COULD NOT
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RECOMMEND TEXT TO HIS SUPERIORS. HE CAUTIONED THAT PLANS TO PROCEED WITH ADOPTION OF DOCUMENT MARCH 6 WERE "PREMATURE."

7. MALTESE RECEIVED SHRED OF ASSISTANCE ONLY FROM CYPRIOT REP WHO SAID OTHER DELS HAD SUPPORTED EARLIER MALTESE PROPOSALS AND WHILE THEY REALIZED THESE COULD NOT BE OBTAINED HOPED THAT SOME FURTHER EFFORTS TO GAIN FULLY SATISFACTORY CONSENSUS MIGHT STILL BE POSSIBLE.

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8. AUSTRIAN REP WAS ONLY NNA TO INDICATE EXPLICITLY THAT HE
WOULD RECOMMEND THAT HIS AUTHORITIES APPROVE DOCUMENT, BUT
OTHERS NOW SEEM TO ACCEPT THAT DOCUMENT IS BEST THAT CAN BE
ACHIEVED. SEVERAL WESTERN AND EASTERN SPEAKERS INCLUDING
AMBASSADORS GOLDBERG AND VORONTSOV, EXPRESSED SUPPORT. AMBASSADOR
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GOLDBERG ALSO DIRECTED PLEA TO MALTESE DEL NOT TO PERVERT CSCE
PROCESS BY CONTINUING TO INSIST ON DEEPLY FELT BUT ISOLATED

NATIONAL POSITION AGAINST WILL OF ALL OTHER PARTICIPANTS. HE SAID IT WOULD BE "IRRESPONSIBLE" TO DENY CONSENSUS TO DOCUMENT AT THIS STAGE.

9. ROMANIAN REP MOVED GRACEFULLY OFF HIS POSITION OF RECENT DAYS BY THANKING SPONSORS FOR IMPROVEMENTS, NOTING THAT ONE IMPORTANT POINT WAS LACKING BUT PROMISING TO TRANSMIT TEXT TO BUCHAREST FOR SERIOUS STUDY.

10. NEXT FORMAL MEETING IS AT 1540 ON MARCH 6. WE EXPECT THAT 34 DELEGATIONS WILL THEN HAVE INSTRUCTIONS TO GIVE CONSENSUS TO DOCUMENT AND TO SCHEDULE CLOSING ROUND OF SPEECHES OVER FOLLOWING 2-3 DAYS. AS SO MANY PREDICTED IT MIGHT BE, HOWEVER, MALTESE POSITION IS THE LAST QUESTION. WE DETECT NO REPEAT NO SENTIMENT IN CONFERENCE TO PAY RANSOM TO MALTESE AS WAS DONE AT HELSINKI PREPARATORY MEETING IN 1973 AND GENEVA IN 1975. WITH LIMITED MEDITERRANEAN EXPERTS GROUP THEY HAVE BEEN OFFERED, THEY HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED MORE FROM A MINIMALIST CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAN ANY OTHER DEL.
GOLDBERG

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